Syntacticization of Discourse
Speaker-Addressee Phrase and Commitment Phrase

Based on *Syntax in the Treetops* (2020 draft)

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Something special happens at the top of the tree structure.

"main clause phenomena," "root phenomena"

These treetop phenomena link the utterance to the discourse context.

Tag question

(1) You are coming to the party, aren't you?

(2) *I asked if you are coming to the party, aren't you.

The MCPs involve illocutionary force – performing an act (Austin)

Illocutionary force typically requires a speaker and an addressee.

Proposal:

The speaker and addressee representations necessary for performing illocutionary acts are present in syntax.

Syntacticization of discourse (Speas and Tenny 2003; Miyagawa 2012a, 2017; Wiltschko 2014, 2017; Krifka 2019b, 2020).

Starting point: Emonds (1969), Ross (1970)

Two very different studies, but when we identify the problems and the solutions: Emonds = Ross

Existence of speaker and addressee representations at the top of the tree associated with illocutionary force.

There's more…

How are the participant representations related to the utterance's proposition?

Two major approaches:

- **Mentalist** (intentions) (Grice)

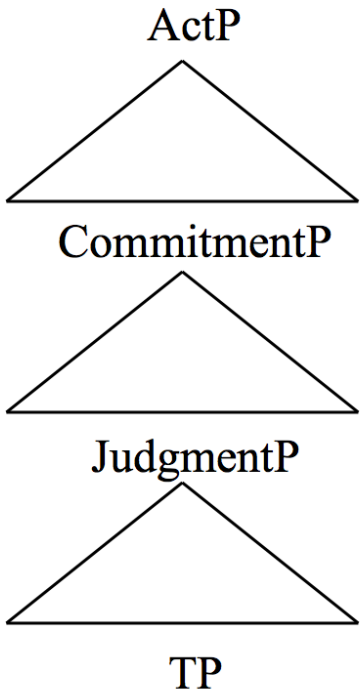
By uttering "the door is closed," the speaker M-intends for the addressee to believe that the speaker believes that the door is closed (Grice 1968).

- **Social** (commitments) (Pierce; Searle; Krifka; also Austin)

"…commitment is a three-place relation between two individuals, [the speaker] and [the addressee], and a propositional content, p: [the speaker] is committed to [the addressee] to act on p…" Guerts (2019: 3).

Krifka's (2019b, 2020) Commitment Phrase will play an important role in our proposal.

(3) Krifka (2019b, 2020)

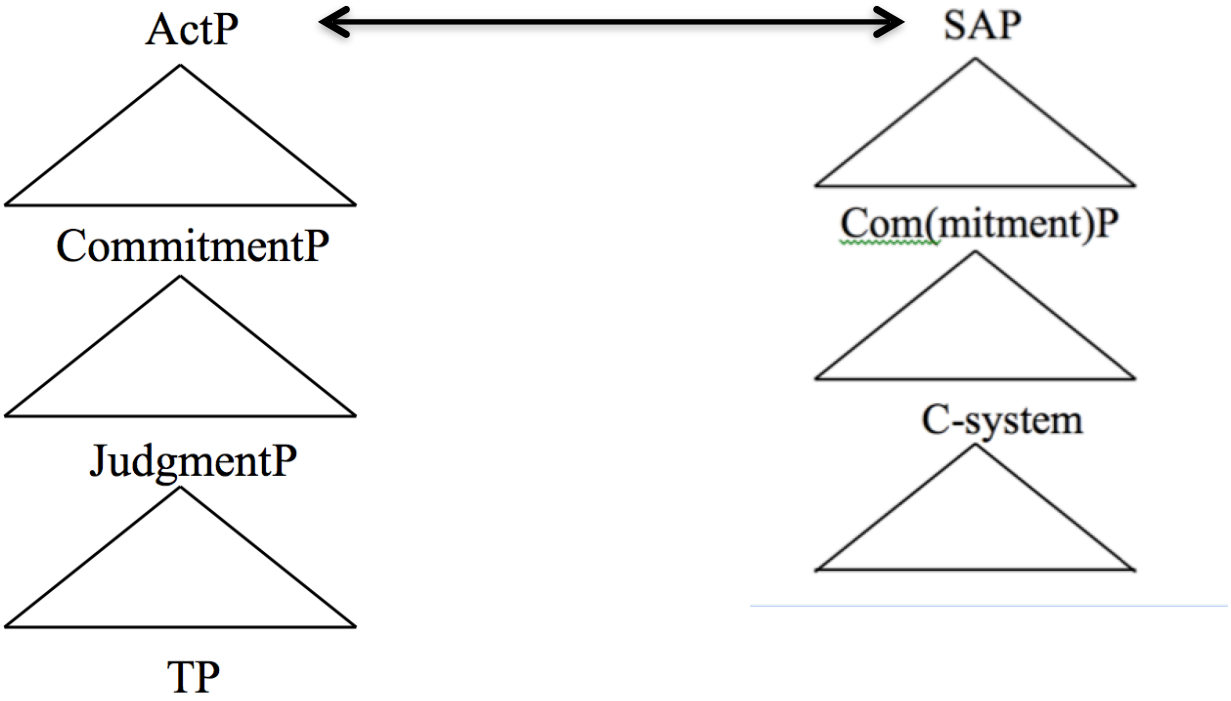


- Top layer (ActP): Locus of illocutionary force
- Commitment Phrase – Spk's commitment to the Addr to act on p
- JudgmentP — Spk's judgment about the proposition ("probably")

SAP

(4) Krifka (2019, 2020)

(5) *SIT* (Miyagawa 2020)

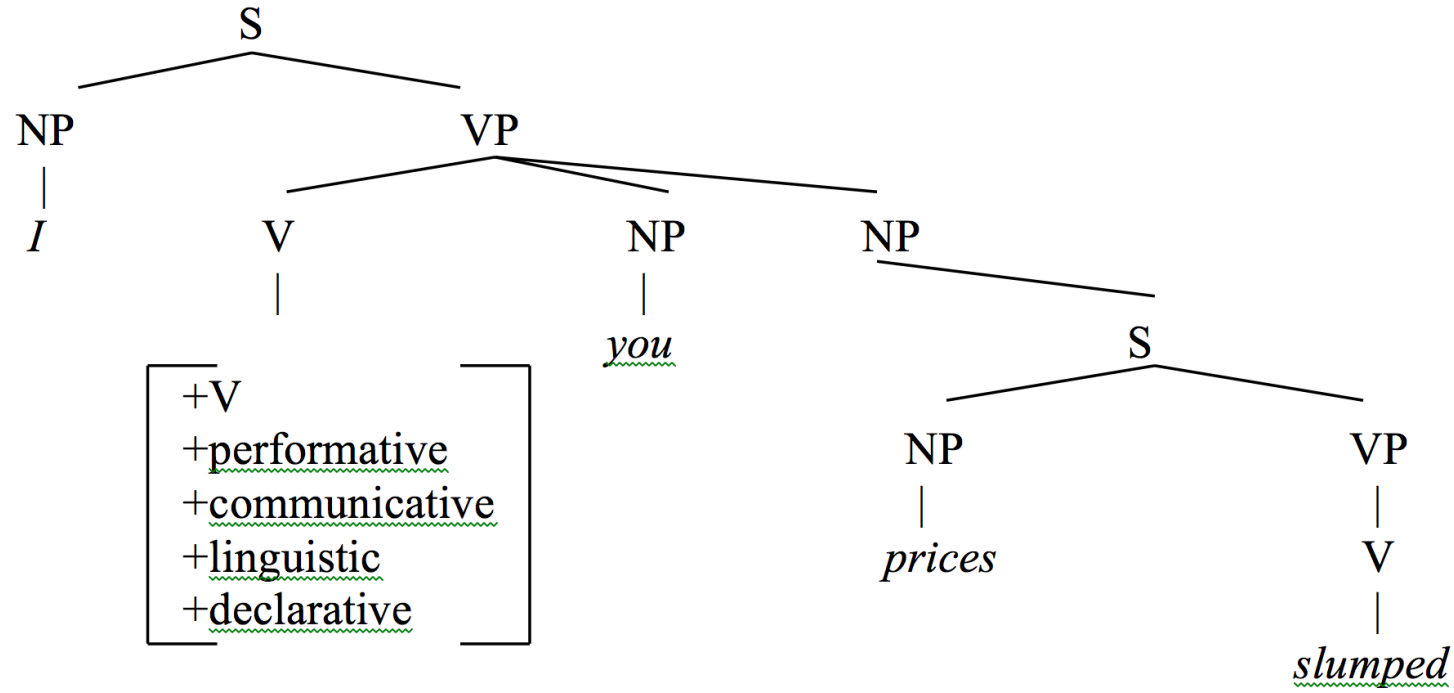


Speaker and addressee: the performative analysis

"On declarative sentences" (Ross 1970) maps Austin's (1962) speech act theory onto a superordinate structure.

(6) Prices slumped.

(7)



Problems with the performative analysis

Incongruent truth-values

(8) a. Prices slumped.

b. I declare to you, prices slumped

Problem: (3a) and (3b) have different truth-values.

Questionable evidence for speaker/addressee

(9) Tom believed that the paper had been written by Ann and himself/ *herself/*myself/*yourself.

(10) The paper was written by myself/*himself/*herself/*yourself.

However, the usage of *myself* in (10) is likely logophoric (see Charnavel 2019 for references)

Modern evidence for the speaker-addressee representation
Allocutive agreement and addressee representation

Souletin, a Basque dialect (de Rijk 2008: 811).

(11) *joan* 'to go'

		k: 2P, M	*n*: 2P, F
I am going	*noa*	*noa**k***	*noa**n***
he is going	*doa*	*zoa**k***	*zoa**n***
we are going	*goaz*	*goaza**k***	*goaza**n***
they are going	*doaz*	*zoaza**k***	*zoaza**n***

(12) Four ways to say *Peter worked* in Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, depending on **who you're talking to** (Oyharçabal 1993)

allocutive agr. subj. agr.

a. *To a male friend*

Pettek lan egin di**k**.

Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prf Aux-3.S.Abs-2.S.C.Msc.Alloc-3.S.Erg

'Peter worked.'

b. *To a female friend*

Pettek lan egin di**n**.

Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prf Aux-3.S.Abs-2.S.C.Fm.Alloc-3.S.Erg

c. *To someone higher in status (formal)*

Pettek lan egin di**zü**.

Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prf Aux-3.S.Abs-2.S.F.Alloc-3.S.Erg

d. *Plural addressee*

Pettek lan egin du.

Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prf Aux-3.S.Abs-3.S.Erg

Evidence for speaker representation: Romanian

Romanian has sentential particles that occur either sentence-initially or finally. These particles, which have as its basic form, *hai*, occur only in the main clause, and appear very high in the structure, above the CP (Hill 2007, 2013; Haegeman and Hill 2014).

(13) Hai cã iar am greş/s-a greşit! (Hill 2007, 26a)

hai that again have-I erred/ARB-se has.erred.

'Damn, I messed it up again. /Right, it has been messed up again.'

Table 1 (Hill 2007)

The forms and interpretation of *hai(de)*

Form	Speech act		Person			Number	
	Injunctive	E	1	2	any/generic	Sg	pl
Hai	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Haide	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
Haidem	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
Haideți	+	+	+	+	−	+	+

(14) Haidem să începem lucrul! (Hill 2007, 25d)
hai-1PL SUBJ start work
'Let's start the work!'

Evidence from Basque and Romanian suggests that there are speaker and addressee representations present in syntax. As we will see later, these representations occur very high, at the treetop, reflecting Ross's superordinate structure.

Speech Act Phrase (saP) / Speaker-Addressee Phrase (SAP)

Speas and Tenny (2003): saP

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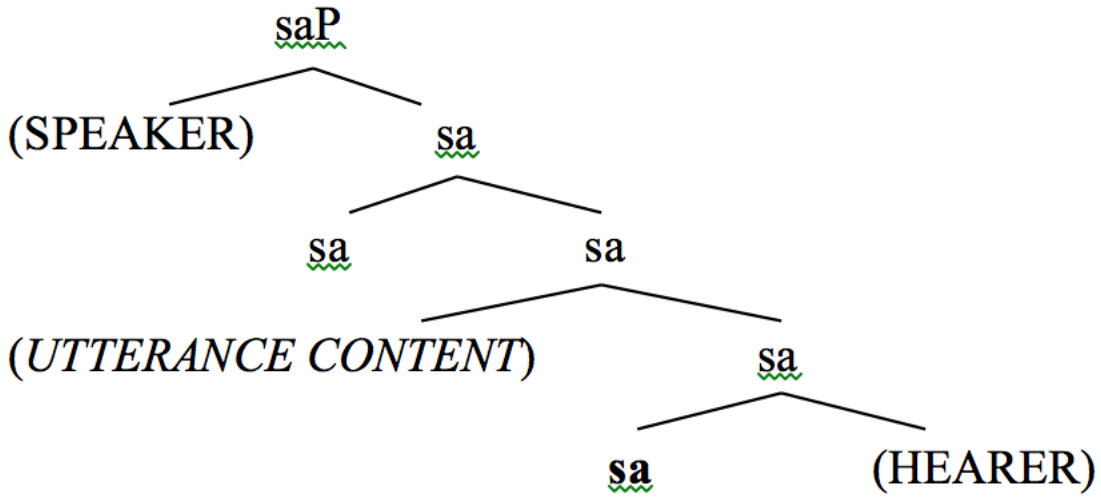

Haegeman and Hill (2011), plus my own labeling of SpkP and AddrP: **SAP**

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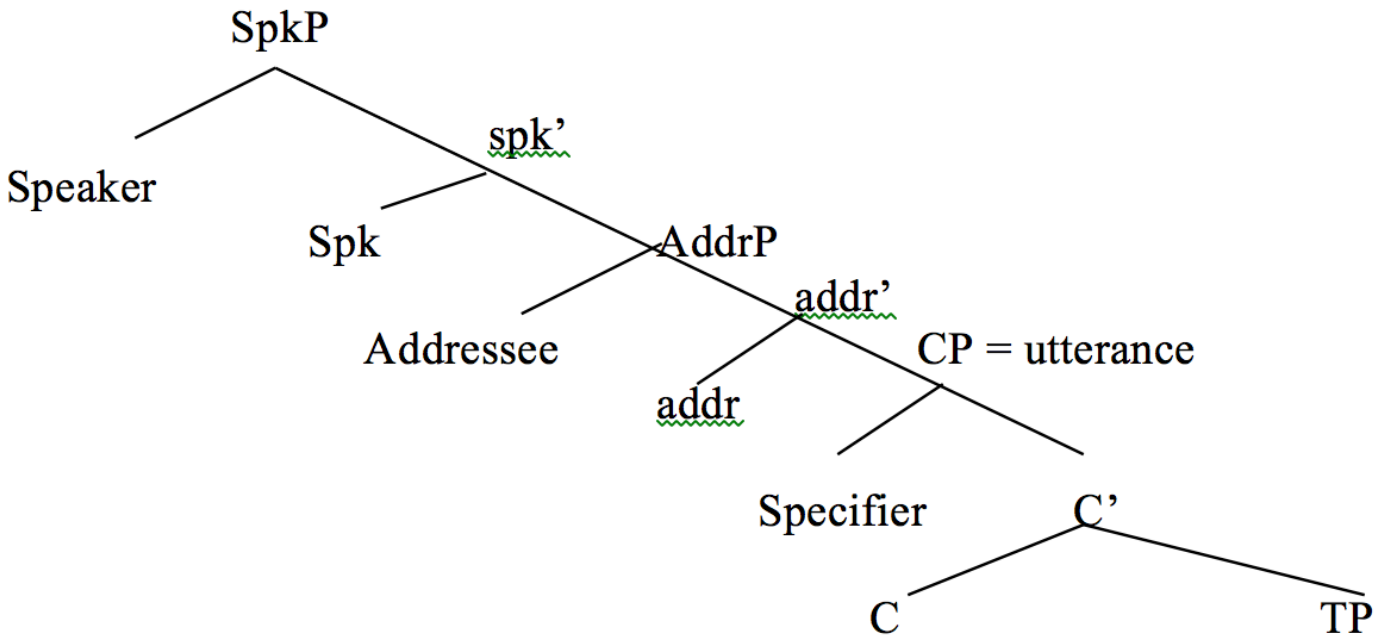

Emonds (1969): Root

In *Root and structure-preserving transformations* (1969), Emonds identified transformations that only apply in root environments. He called these non-structure preserving transformations.

(17) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse. (Emonds 1969: 6)

Negative Constituent Preposing

(18)a. Never had I had to borrow money.

b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.

c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.

d. *The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

Problem with the root definition

Too many counterexamples to the root definition (Hooper and Thompson 1973)

(19) Negative Constituent Preposing

I found out that never before had he had to borrow money. (H&T (119))

(20) Preposition Phrase Substitution

It seems that on the opposite corner stood a large Victorian mansion.

(H&T (89))

(21) Topicalization

It appears that this book he read thoroughly. (H&T (92))

Politeness marking: allocutive agreement

The politeness marking in Japanese fits exactly Emonds's definition of the root (Miyagawa 2012a, 2017).

(22) Colloquial

Hanako-wa kur-u.
Hanako-TOP come-PRES
'Hanako will come.'

(23) Formal (*-mas-*)

Hanako-wa ki-*mas*-u.
Hanako-TOP come-MAS-PRES
'Hanako will come.'

(24) a. Highest S

Hanako-wa ki-*mas*-u.

Hanako-TOP come-MAS-PRES

'Hanako will come.'

b. S dominated by highest S

Hanako-ga ki-*mas*-u kara, ie-ni ite-kudasai.

Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please

'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

c. Reported S in direct discourse

Taroo-wa Hanako-ga ki-*mas*-u to itta.

Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES C said

'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

While examples in (24) above are fine, the politeness form does not occur, for example, in the complement of the verb ‘believe’.

(25) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kuru/*ki-*mas*-u to] sinzitei-ru.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM come/come-MAS-PRES C believe-PRES

‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’

The politeness marker in Japanese, like the allocutive agreement in Souletin Basque, targets the addressee — as, for example, socially superior to the speaker. In this way, it is an agreement of sort with the addressee. It goes with the addressee representation in the SAP (Miyagawa 2012a, 2017).

Ross = Emonds

- Emonds's root definition is about the distribution of the Speaker-Addressee Phrase.
- Since the speaker-addressee representation originally comes from Ross (1970), we are able to unify Emonds (1969) and Ross (1970) as being about the SAP.
- The question is, why?

The SAP is at the top of the utterance – in the treetops. This top projection is the locus of the illocutionary force of the utterance (Krifka 2015, 2020; Frey and Meinunger 2019, etc.).

Combining Speas & Tenny and Krifka: Expression and propositional components of an utterance

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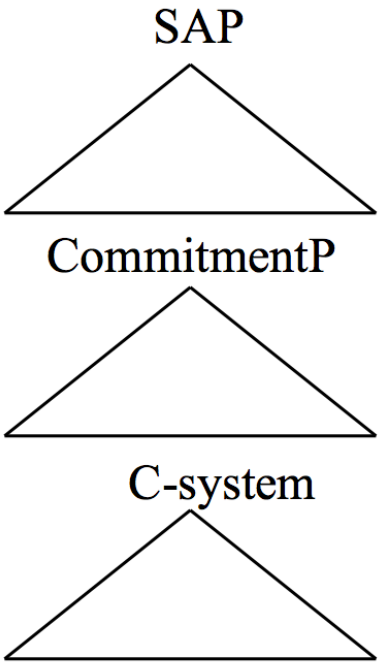
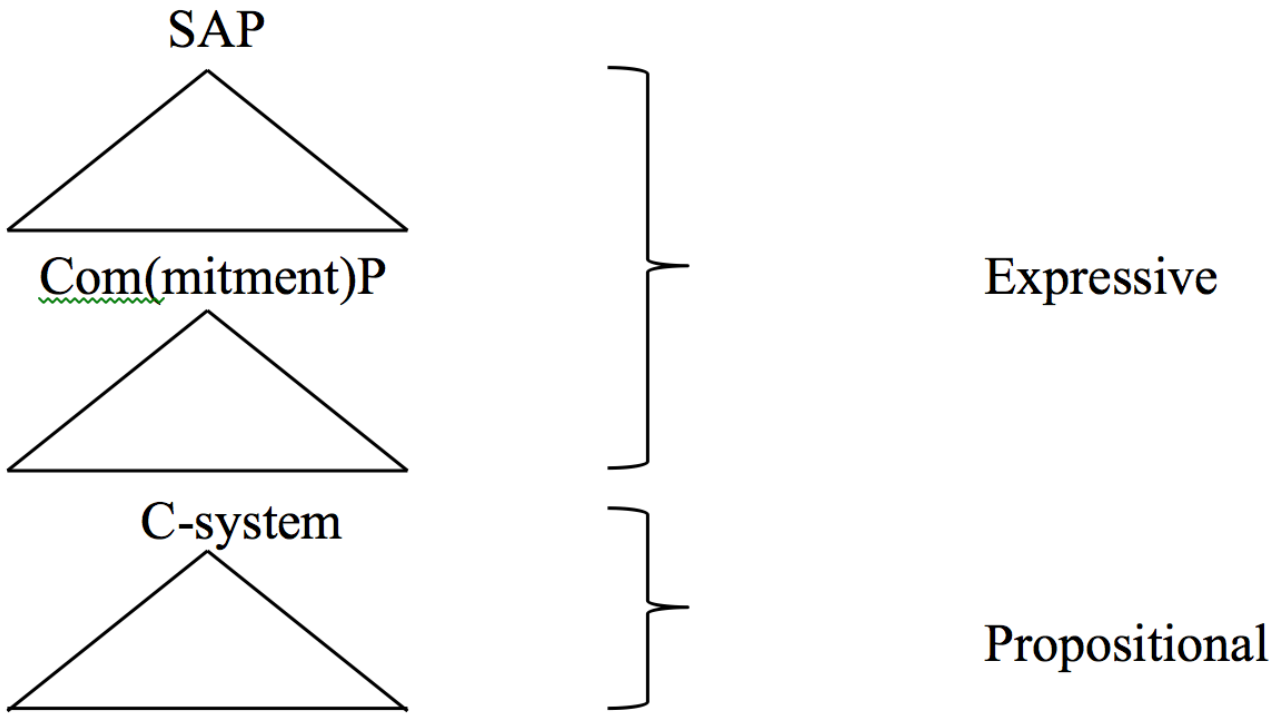


- SAP: Locus of illocutionary force; contains Spk and Addr representations;
- CommitmentP: Spk's commitment to Addr to act on p
- C-system: CP + extended C system, including Judgment, Topicalization, etc.

(27)



Politeness marking: Root phenomena

Distribution of the politeness marker is highly limited (Harada 1976). Parallels Basque, which doesn't allow the allocutive agreement in embedded contexts.

In Japanese, the politeness marking is limited to Emonds's (1969) Root environments (Miyagawa 2012a, 2017).

(28) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse.

(Emonds 1969: 6)

(29) a. Highest S

Hanako-wa ki-mas-u.

Hanako-TOPcome-MAS-PRES

'Hanako will come$_{-mas}$.'

b. S dominated by highest S

Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, ie-ni ite-kudasai.

Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please

'Because Hanako will come$_{-mas}$, please be at home.'

c. Reported S in direct discourse

Taroo-wa Hanako-ga ki-mas-u to itta.

Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES C said

'Taro said that Hanako will come$_{-mas}$.'

In contrast, other kinds of complements do not allow the allocutive.

(30) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kuru/*ki-*mas*-u to] sinzitei-ru.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM come/come-PRES C believe-PRES

'Taro believes that Hanako will come.'

(31) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kita/***ki-*mas*-u koto]-o hitei-sita.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM came/come-MAS-PRS C -ACC deny-PAST

'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'

(32) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kita/*ki-*mas*-i-ta koto]-ni odoroi-ta.

Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PAST C_{FACT}-DAT surprise-PAST

'Taro was surprised that Hanako came.'

(33) Taroo-wa [sono hikooki-ga tuirakusita/*tuirakusi-mas-i-ta koto]-o

Taro-TOP that plane-NOM fall/fall-MAS-PAST C-ACC

sit-te-i-ta.

know-PROG- PAST

'Taro knew that the airplane fell down.' (adapted from Harada's (104b))

Discrepancy between form and function

-mas- is allocutive agreement (Miyagawa 2012a, 2017; Oyharçabal 1993). But it is in the wrong place.

Below tense

(34) Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-u.
Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-PRS
'Hanako will eat_{FORMAL} pizza.'

Below negation

(35) Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-en.
Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-NEG
'Hanako will eat_{FORMAL} pizza.'

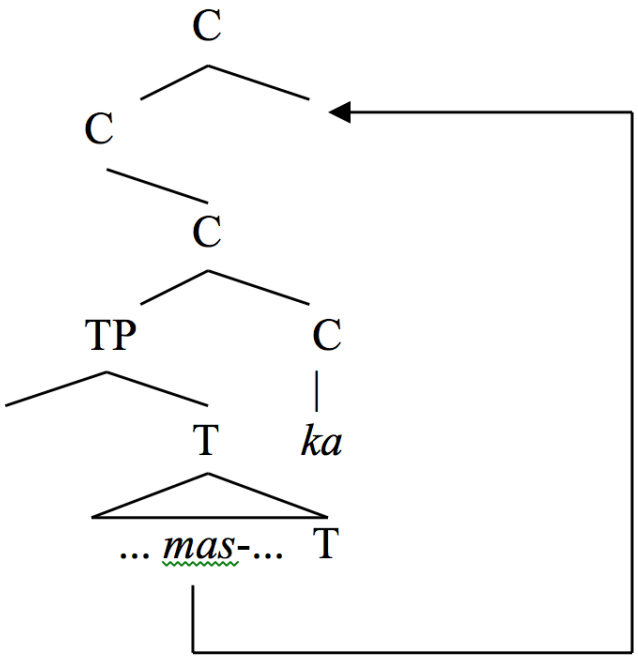
(36) Korean (Portner, et al. 2019)
Ecey pi-ka o-ass-**supnita.**
yesterday rain-NOM come-PST-$DECL_{POLITE}$
'It rained yesterday'

(37) Thai (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005: 207)
lian yêɛ ləy lă **khráp.**
study problematic PP Q $POLITE_{MASC}$
'She studies so badly?'

(38) Tamil (McFadden 2017, 2018)
Naan jaangiri vaang-in-een- **ŋæ.**
I Jangri buy-PST-1.SG.SUBJ-ALLOC
'I bought Jangri.'

The allocutive ϕ-feature closes the gap between form and function

(39) *-mas-* LF-excorporation (Miyagawa 1987)



Modern version based on allocutive ϕ-feature

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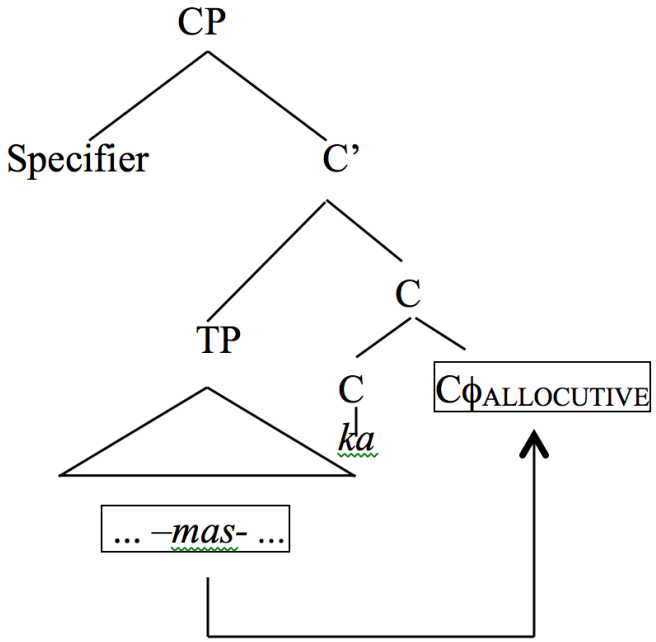
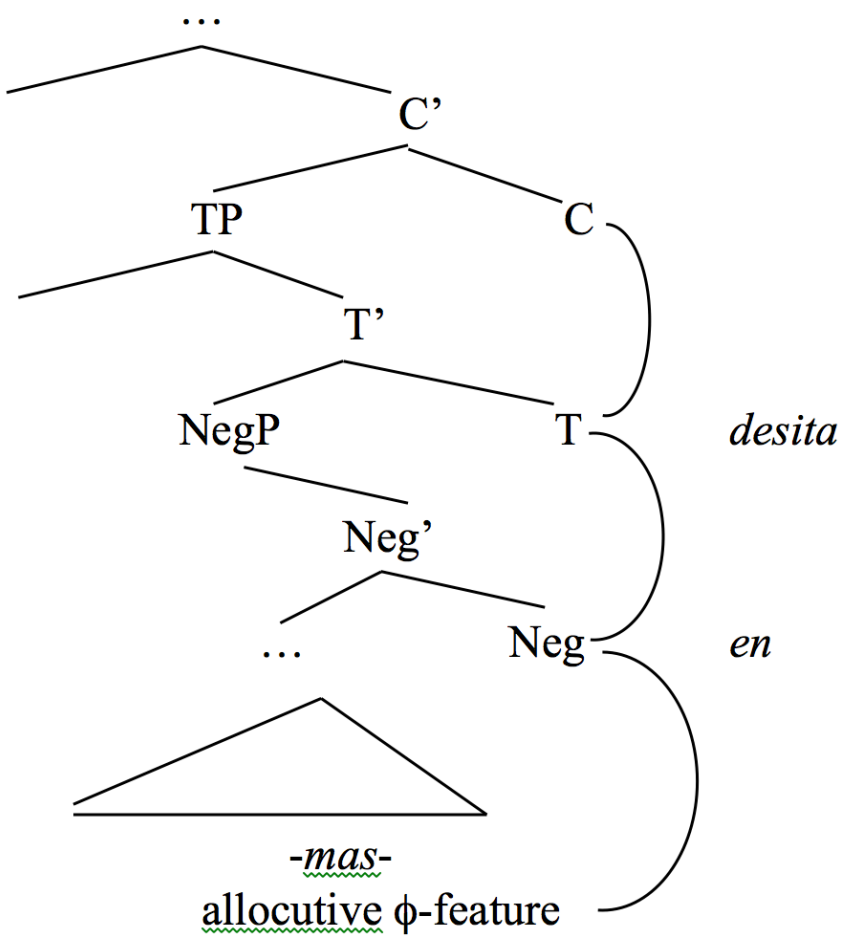


Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984): head-to-head

(41) Hanako-wa iki-**mas**-**en** **desita**.
Hanako-TOP go-MAS-NEG COP.PST
'Hanako didn't go.'

(42) Hanako-wa ika-na-katta.
Taro-TOP go-NEG-PST
'Hanako didn't go.'

(43)



(44) NEG - allocutive ϕ-feature --> *en*
T_{PAST} - allocutive ϕ-feature —> *desita*

The allocutive ϕ-feature moves above TP.

(45) Nimotu-wa moo todoki-**mas**-i-ta **desyoo** ka?
package-TOP already arrive-MAS-PST INTERJECTION Q
'Has the package arrived already?' (Nitta 1991: 6.5 (11))

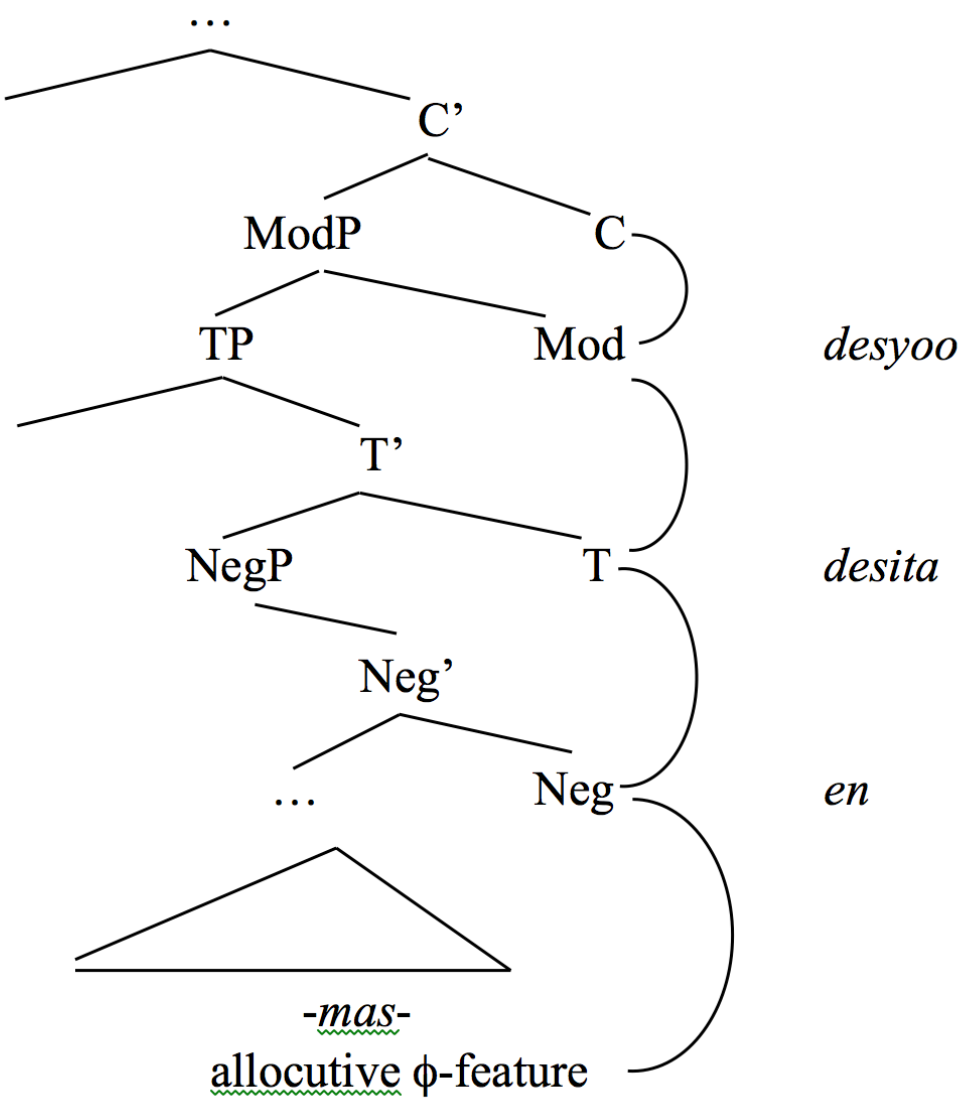
(46) Nimotu-wa moo todoi-ta daroo ka?
package-TOP already arrive-PST INTERJECTION Q
'Has the package arrived already?'

If we combine with negation, we get the full head-to-head movement

(47) Nimotu-wa todoki-**mas**-**en**-**desita** **desyoo** ka?
package-TOP arrive-MAS-NEG-COP.PST INTERJECTION Q
'Didn't the package arrive?'

Koizumi (1991, 1993): Modal phrase above TP for items such as *daroo*

(48)



Sentence-final particles and expressivity

Sentence-final particles (SFP) are highly expressive.

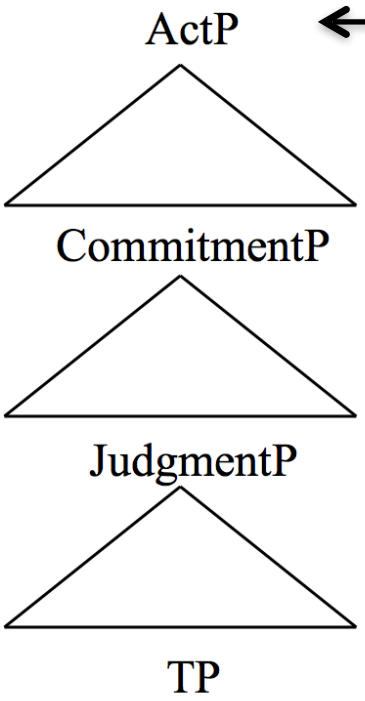
(49) Kare-wa piza-o tabe-ru yo.
he-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PRES YO
'He will eat pizza!'

(50) (i) small set of SFPs
(ii) don't contribute to the truth value of the proposition
(iii) high frequency
(iv) has a special grammatical structure

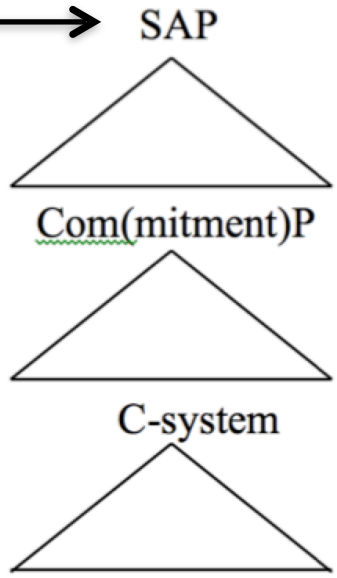
(51) *yo* 'certainty', *kana* 'uncertainty', *ne* 'confirmation'

SAP

(52) Krifka (2019, 2020)



(53) *SIT* (Miyagawa 2020)



Structure of SFPs: A preview

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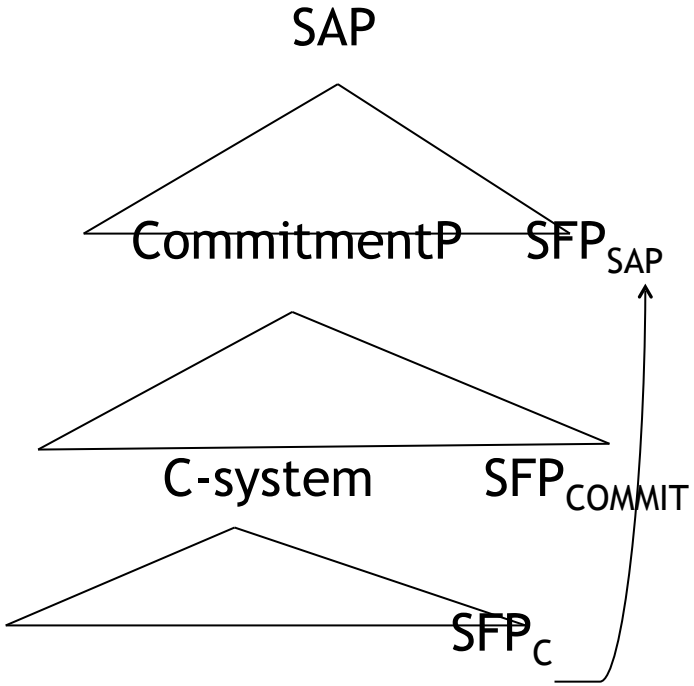


(55) SAP + CommitP: Expressive component – speech act / illocutionary
C-system: Propositional component – truth-value / locutionary

(56) SAP + CommitP: Root

SFPs are main clause phenomena

(57) Root (Emonds 1969: 6)

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S, or the reported S in direct discourse.

(58)a. *Highest S*

Hanako-wa ku-ru yo.
Hanako-TOP come-PRES YO
'Hanako will come!, Hanako will come!'

b. *S dominated by highest S*

Hanako-ga ku-ru kara yo, ie-ni ite-kudasai.
Hanako-NOM come-PRES because YO home-at be-please
'Because Hanako will come!, please be at home.'

c. *Reported S in direct discourse*

Taroo-wa Hanako-ga ku-ru yo to itta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-PRES YO C said
'Taro said that Hanako will come!'

(59) Hanako-wa [kare-ga piza-o tabe-ru (*yo) to (*yo)] omottei-ru.

Hanako-TOP he-NOM pizza-ACC eat-PRES YO C YO think-PRS

'Hanako thinks that he will eat pizza.'

(60) SFPs occur in the Expressive component: SAP – CommitmentP

The structure of SFPs

(61) Expressivity of SFPs

(i) small set

(ii) high frequency

(iii) grammatical structure

NE / YO

(62) Hanako-wa piza-o tyuumonsuru ***ne***.
Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC order NE
'Hanako will order pizza, won't she?.'

(63) Hanako-wa piza-o tyuumonsuru ***yo***.
Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC order YO
'Hanako will order pizza!.'

(64) Uyeno (1971: 96): *ne* is used if the speaker expects the addressee to be familiar with the information in the proposition; *yo* is used if the speaker assumes that the addressee is not aware of the information.

(65) A number of linguists: *ne* is addressee-oriented; *yo* is speaker-oriented.

Ne

Necessarily directs the entire expression to the addressee because, like a question, the speaker assumes that the addressee knows the truthfulness of the proposition, and is confirming that.

Yo

Amplifies the commitment by the speaker relative to the speech act embodied in the utterance.

(66) *Assertion*: *amplifies the speaker's commitment to the truth of p.*

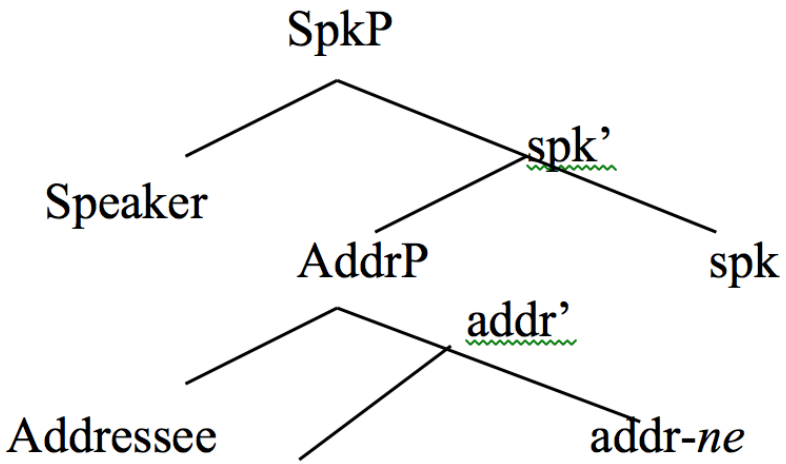
Hanako-wa ik-u yo!
Hanako-TOP go-PRS YO
'Hanako will go!'

(67) *Imperative*: amplifies the speaker's commitment to have the addressee bring about p.

Ik-e yo!
go-IMP YO
'Go, for goodness' sake!'

Structure of *ne*

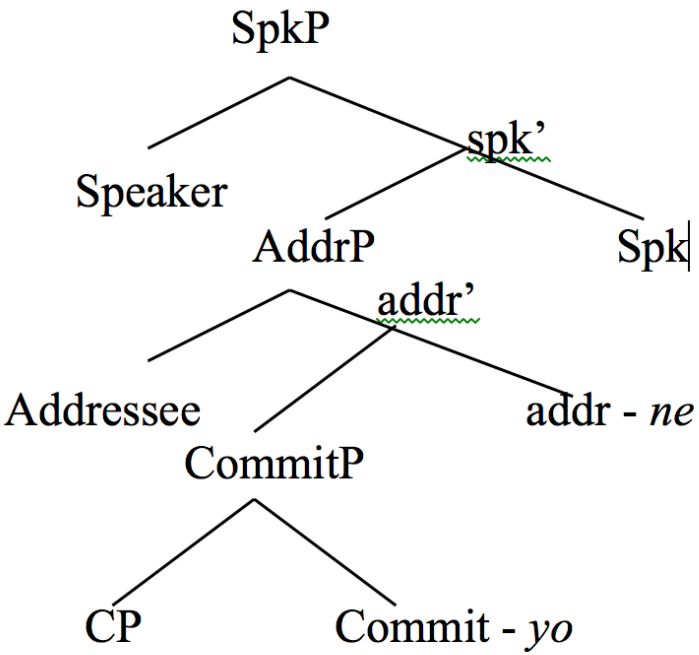
(68) *Ne*



The idea that sentential particles occurs on the head of participants: works on Germanic such as Bayer (2012, 2018, 2020) and Haegeman and Hill (2014).

Structure of *yo*

(69) *Yo*



(70) *yo-ne*,

If *yo* were speaker oriented, the ordering **ne-yo* should be the only option.

(71) Hanako-wa piza-o tyuumonsuru ***yo-ne***.
Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC order YO-NE
'Hanako will surely order pizza, right?'

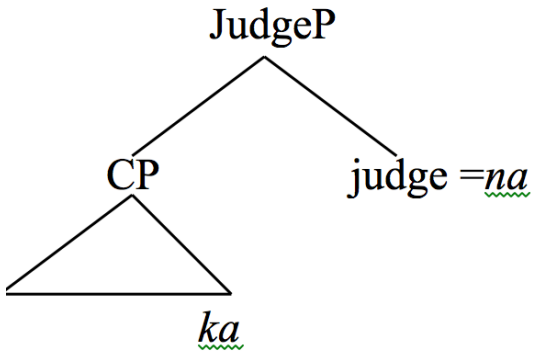
Uncertainty *kana*

(72) *Ka* of *kana* is Q

Dare-ga kur-u ka-na?
who-NOM come-PRS Q-NA
'I wonder who will come.'

-na is a kind of speaker judgment about p; it selects Q.

(73)



At the same time, *-na* is speaker oriented: it can only be used by the speaker.

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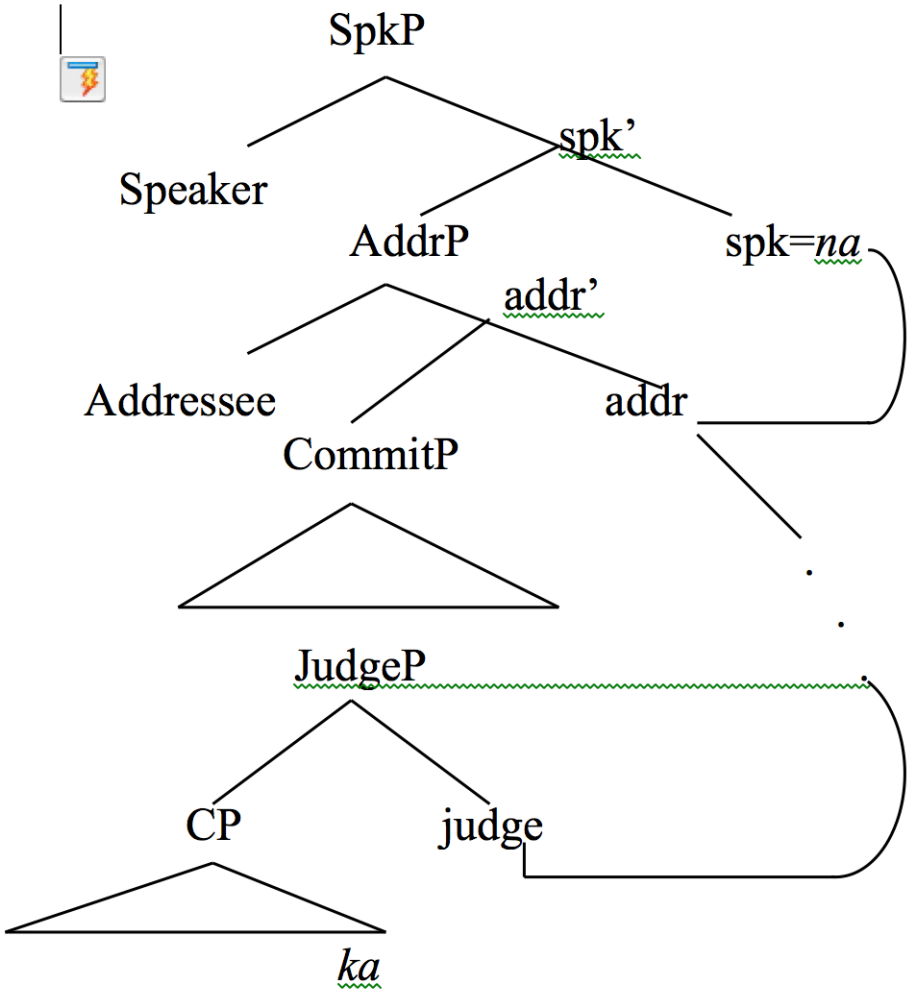
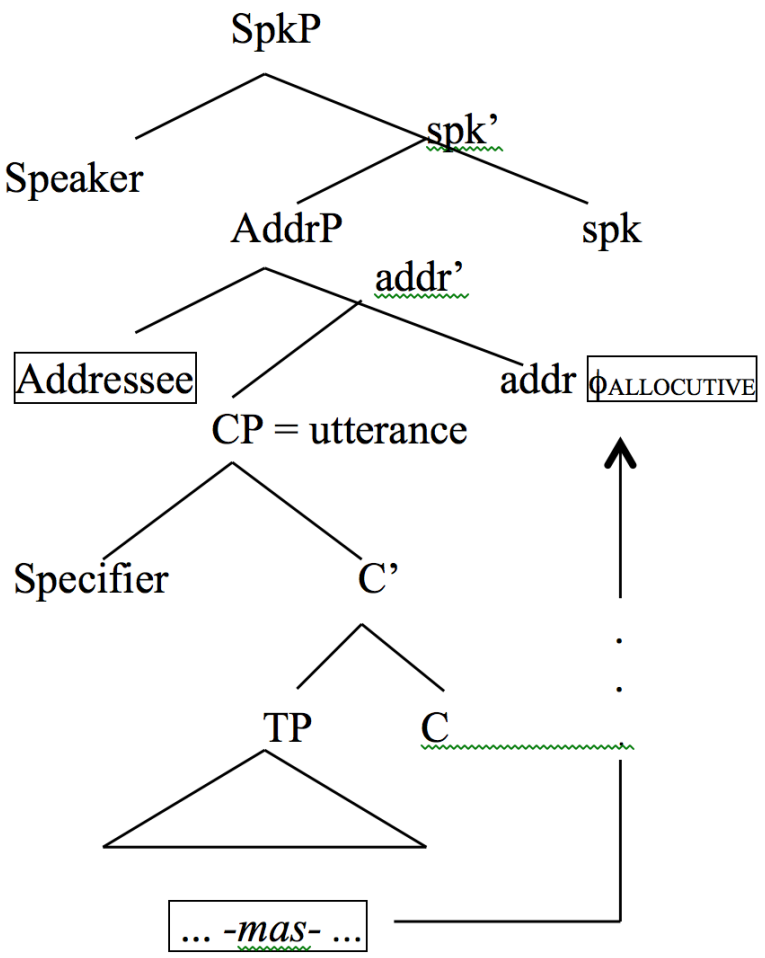


This shows the Expressive-Propositional split. *Na* originates in the C-system because it has to select *ka*. But being an SFP, it makes no contribution to the truth value of p, thus it raises into the Expressive component.

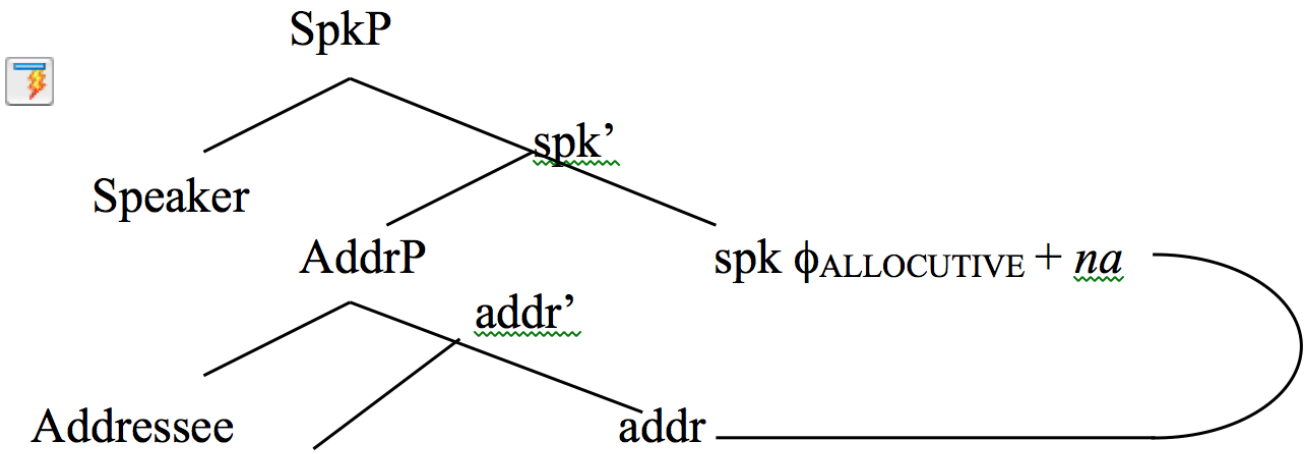
Interaction of *kana* and *-mas-*

The analysis predicts that *kana* cannot occur with *-mas-*.

(75) Raising of the allocutive ϕ-featu



(76)



(77) Hanako-wa kur-u/*ki-mas-u kana.
Hanako-TOP come-PRS/come-MAS-PRS KANA
'I wonder if Hanako will come.'

Kasira / i

Two additional uncertainty SFPs that behave similarly to *kana*: *sira / i*. Both must occur with the Q-particle, *ka*.

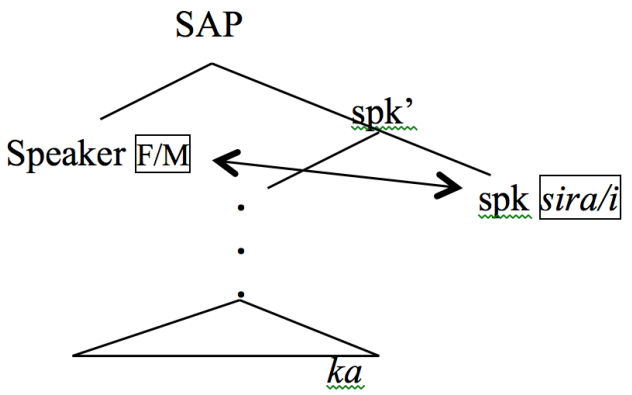
(78) Hanako-wa kur-u ka-sira/-i.
Hanako-TOP come-PRS Q-SIRA/I
'I wonder if Hanako will come.

Neither allows *-mas-*.

(79) Hanako-wa kur-u/*ki-mas-u ka-sira/-i.
Hanako-TOP come-PRS/come-MAS-PRS Q-SIRA/-I
'I wonder if Hanako will come.'

An additional factor: gender agreement

(80) *-(ka)sira*: Feminine speaker
-(ka)i: Male speaker



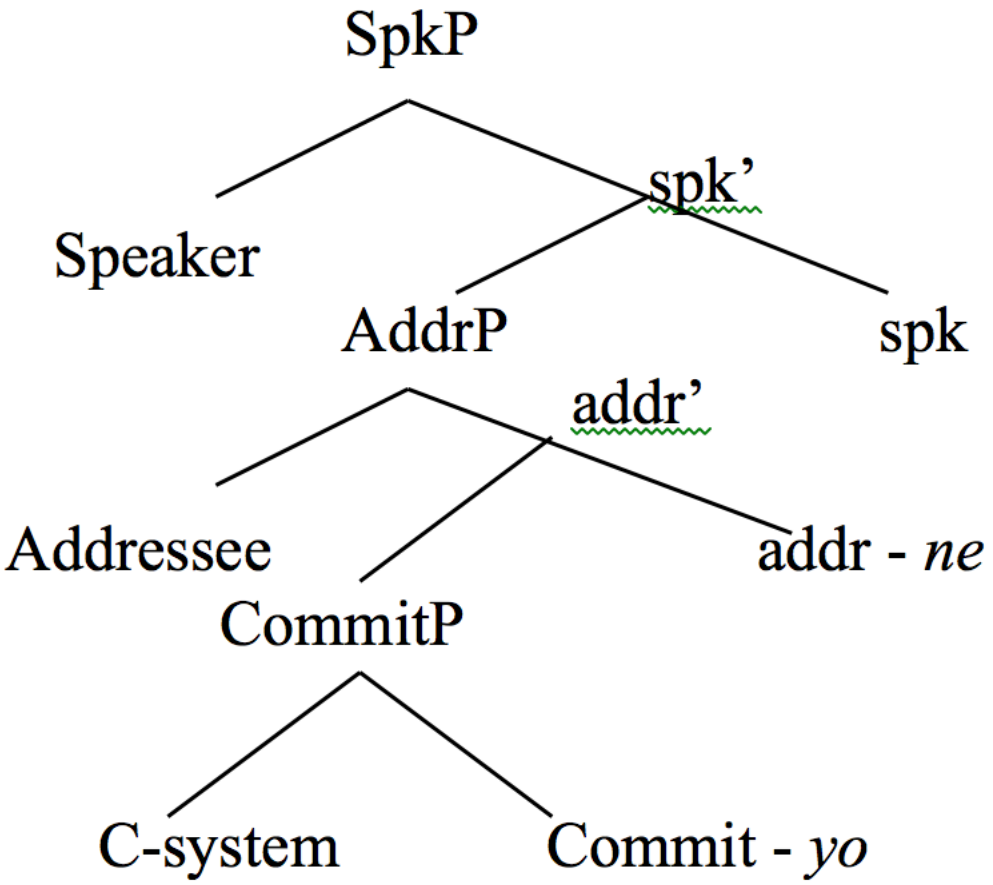
The language of children with ASD and SAP-CommitP

(81) Children with ASD

- Linguistically high-functioning young people with autistic spectrum disorders (ASD) tend not to use SFPs
- Linguistically high functioning mentally retarded children use SFPs frequently
- When trained, children with ASD could use both *ne* and *yo* (Matsuoka et al. 1997)
- Those with ASD show problems with pragmatics, for example, involving the addressee; confuse *Sie* and *Du* (Baltaxe 1977).

SAP, CommitP, and *ne* (affirm with addressee); *yo* (amplify commitment)

(82)



Asymmetry between *ne* and *yo*

Matsuoka et al. (1997)

Subject: 7;2, enrolled in first grade; did not use SFPs before the experiments.

Experiment 1: 1 hour a week, 6 month

Experiment 2: once a week, for 8 months.

With training, became adept at *ne* and *yo*.

Observation in natural setting: at home, once a week for 5 weeks.

Experiment 1 (Matsuoka et al. 1997)

First Scenario: the subject goes to Room 2 and tells Experimenter B what he played in Room 1. YO

- Room 2
  B

Second Scenario: the subject goes to Room 2 and tells Experimenter A what he played in Room 1. NE

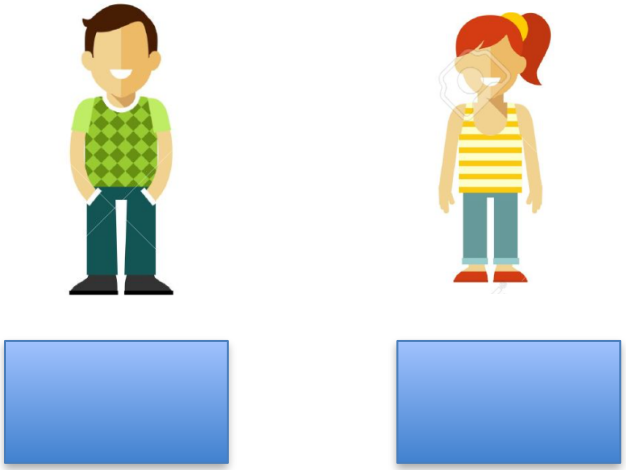
1 hour/week, 6 months

- Room 1
  A

Experiment 2

Base line: was able to use *yo* correctly, but not *ne*

Once a week, 8 months



In natural setting

After Experiment 2, the child was observed in the home setting, 75 minute session, once a week, 5 weeks.

271 occurrences of *yo*

4 occurrences of *ne*